

Castro's Offer to Negotiate With Kennedy

By Joseph Hansen

"U.S. BRANDS CUBA COMMUNIST STATE." That was the headline in the May 3 *New York Times* reporting the official reaction of the State Department to the three-and-a-half-hour speech by Fidel Castro which climaxed Havana's fourteen-and-a-half-hour May Day parade.

The parade was part of a great victory celebration over the biggest defeat American imperialism has suffered in Latin America. It constituted an impressive demonstration of popular support for the revolutionary government. Castro's

speech was a powerful indictment of the April 17 counter-revolutionary invasion, a stirring declaration of the emancipating aims of the Cuban revolution, of the desire of his government for peace with the United States, and — if this renewed peace offer should be rejected by Kennedy — of the determination of the Cuban workers and peasants to continue their struggle for freedom no matter what the odds.

Out of all this, Lincoln White, spokesman of the State Department, singled out Castro's recognition of the socialist character of

the Cuban revolution and rejection of the kind of elections that would permit capitalism to stage a come back in Cuba.

Disregarding the peace offer, White sought to picture the premier as a stooge of Moscow and worse. "Castro's meetings, which he calls elections," said this mouthpiece of the government of big business, "sound very much like Hitler's and Mussolini's mass gatherings." The entire capitalist press, like house organs of the State Department, repeated this slander.

Actually Castro said nothing

about elections that he has not already said many times. "These gentlemen speak of elections. What elections do they want?" he asked. "The false and prostituted elections that represent nothing but the proceedings by which the exploiting classes through their lawyers and their politicians maintain themselves in power, and with that power the whole regime of misery and hunger for the people?"

Castro described at some length the corruptness of the kind of elections demanded by the counter-revolution and the State Department.

"There are many pseudo democracies in Latin America," he continued. "What must be asked is how many laws have they passed in favor of the workers, how many laws in favor of the peasants, where is the agrarian reform, where is the nationalization of oil, where is the nationalization of the mines, where is the nationalization of industry? This is what should be asked of them."

The revolution, Castro declared, "is the direct expression of the will of the people, not an election every four years, but an election every day, a constant listening for

(Continued on Page 2)

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Alabama Racist Mob Attacks Riders of Integrated Buses

By Fred Halstead

Two integrated interstate buses were waylaid in Alabama March 14 by white supremacists who destroyed one bus with a magnesium fire bomb and gave bloody beatings to passengers on the other. The attack was aimed at 16 Negro and white "Freedom Riders" organized by the Congress of Racial Equality for a trip from Washington, D.C. to New Orleans testing integration on interstate buses in the deep South. Federal law forbids forced segregation on buses traveling between states.

The CORE group, under a policy of non-violence, boarded two buses, a Trailways and a Greyhound, in Atlanta bound for Birmingham. The Greyhound reached Anniston, Ala. first, where it was met by a racist mob. The driver pulled away, but apparently a tire

had been slashed. The bus was followed by a motorcade until the tire went flat, and it was surrounded by about 200 attackers. The incendiary bomb was thrown through a window while the driver talked to a state trooper.

"It was incredible," said "Freedom Rider" Albert Bigelow. "The bus was filled with terrible smoke and outside these hoodlums were shouting 'Heil Hitler' and 'Sig Heil.'" The passengers were taken to a local hospital and treated for smoke poisoning. The CORE group then continued to Birmingham in a motorcade organized by local Negroes.

Meanwhile, the Trailways bus stopped near Anniston and was boarded by whites who beat the "Freedom Riders" with fists and bottles. They stopped when a policeman entered the bus, but no arrests were made, and the bus drove on.

About 30 "heavy-set men" had been waiting at the Birmingham station all day, according to eyewitness Howard K. Smith, of the Columbia Broadcasting System. When the Trailways bus arrived, he said, "the toughs grabbed the passengers into alleys and corridors pounding them with pipes, with key rings and with fists. One passenger was knocked down at my feet by twelve of the hoodlums and his face was beaten and kicked until it was a bloody pulp."

Smith said that when police arrived the attackers moved down the street where "I watched some of them discussing their achievements of the day. That took place just under Police Commissioner Connors' window."

2 Detroit Socialists File For City Office

There will be socialist candidates in the Detroit city elections this year. Robert Himmel, an unemployed cook, filed for Mayor and Sarah Lovell, a proofreader, for common council May 15. Both have appealed to the unions to organize an independent labor slate, offering to withdraw their own candidacies if such a slate materializes. On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, which has endorsed their candidacies, both candidates called on other radical organizations to form a "united socialist ticket."

Fair Play For Cuba Head Asks Indictment of Dulles



Allen Dulles

WASHINGTON, May 15 — The Fair Play for Cuba Committee today called on the Grand Jury of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to indict Central Intelligence Agency chief Allen Dulles for violations of U.S. neutrality laws in "arming, training, and financing the abortive invasion of Cuba by Cuban counter-revolutionaries and other mercenaries."

The demand for Dulles' indictment for the violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 959 and 960 was made by Richard Gibson, Acting Executive Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The demand was accompanied by a thick file of clippings reporting the activities of the CIA and its director, Allen Dulles, in organizing the recent Cuban invasion.

Gibson disclosed that he had prepared the file for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which challenged the veracity of statements he made during a hearing of that Subcommittee on April 25th. In his letter to the Foreman of the Grand Jury, Gibson wrote: "Senator Thomas Dodd challenged these statements and de-

manded to know the source of this information, which he apparently did not wish to believe. The source was simply the press of the United States. For Senator Dodd's further enlightenment we have now prepared the enclosed file of pertinent clippings from U.S. newspapers."

"We believe that even a hasty examination of these clippings will more than confirm our charges, and we respectfully submit that this is indeed a matter that calls for criminal prosecution of those guilty of this act of international banditry."

Gibson is to appear again before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which is headed by Mississippi Senator, James O. Eastland, on May 16. He will present the subcommittee with a copy of the file of clippings at that time, and suggest to its members that they, too, might care to investigate these manifest violations of U.S. laws.

Along with the file of clippings, Gibson also sent the Foreman of the Grand Jury and the Eastland committee a list of 15 persons who reportedly have firsthand knowledge of these violations of U.S. laws. Among those on the list were the counter-revolutionary leaders: Jose Miro Cardona, Rolando Masferrer, Manuel Ray and Antonio de Varona as well as Allen Dulles himself, his assistants, Richard M. Bissell and Robert A. Amory Jr., Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles, State Department coordinator for Latin American affairs, Adolph A. Berle, and presidential advisors Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., McGeorge Bundy and W. W. Rostow.

N.Y. Freedom Fight Won By Minstrels

The freedom fighters of Washington Square in New York City's Greenwich Village have beaten the ban against folk singing. Last month the Park Commissioner forbade "minstrelsy" in the park, where it had been traditional, as part of a drive to "dignify" the area for the benefit of high-rent, real-estate interests. There followed weekly demonstrations and arrests climaxed by defiance of the ban by several hundred persons. Then the Right To Sing Committee announced a "political meeting" on the question. Before it could be held, Mayor Wagner lifted the ban. The next Sunday, May 14, the square had folk singers and the largest crowd in memory. "We beat it by organizing," said one bearded Bohemian, "It's enough to shake your lack of faith in people."

Note to CIA

"There are three kinds of intelligence — human, animal and military." George Bernard Shaw.

U.S. Professors Hit Cuba Policy

Hundreds of leading members of the academic community have protested U.S. aggression against Cuba in two recent actions. An open letter to President Kennedy dated May 10 and signed by 181 historians was released recently by Professor Carl E. Schorske of the University of California. Signers included faculty members in the History Departments of 41 U.S. colleges and universities. It warned against resuming "overtly or covertly," U.S. intervention in Cuba. The letter also opposed Kennedy's recent call for self-censorship by the press, saying "further intervention in Cuba and a facade of national unity at home are equally dangerous."

Another open letter to Kennedy was published as an ad in the May 10 *New York Times* by 70 educators and authors in the Boston area. Signers included 41 Harvard faculty members. It demanded a reversal of "the present drift towards American military intervention in Cuba" and "no further support for the invasion of Cuba by Cuban exile groups." The statement said the signers did not approve of the present Cuban government, but that the U.S. should seek "to detach the Castro regime from the Communist bloc by working for a diplomatic detente and a resumption of trade relations."

Picketing of CIA Ends 14 Day Fast

By Hedda Grant

WASHINGTON, May 13 — Over 250 people came down to Washington today by bus and motorcade from New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Baltimore to demonstrate support of the hunger strikers of the Non-Violent Committee for Cuban Independence on the last day of their two-week, round-the-clock, fast and vigil in front of the Central Intelligence Agency headquarters. Today's solidarity action was sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

After picketing the CIA for several hours, the demonstrators paraded three-and-a-half miles through Washington to a meeting in a Unitarian church. Police kept the marchers, in groups of fifty, spaced a long block apart, and accompanied them on foot and motorcycle along the route which passed the White House. One stretch was by a park surrounded by a brick wall atop which armed police were standing, as in movies about prisons. A passing busload of children, at the sight of the interracial marchers with their anti-CIA signs, burst into the strains of "Dixie," a sadly significant commentary on the nation's capital.

At the meeting, pacifist leader Dave Dellinger, one of the seven hunger strikers jailed for ten days by the Washington police, described the police harassment of

the vigil and conditions in the District jail. He introduced other hollow-cheeked participants in the fast and vigil, some of whom were on the San Francisco-to-Moscow peace walk and had stopped over to join the protest against the CIA. Praising the changes which he had himself seen in Cuba, Dellinger told the audience that the U.S. needed a revolution. That brought resounding applause throughout the church.

Bert Wainer, editor of the Fair Play student bulletin, thanked all the demonstrators for their dramatic highlighting of the struggle against U.S. intervention in Cuba. He voiced hope for continued collaboration among all groups working for a better world.

● As the mass picketing of the CIA began, hands were reached out from the line to shake those of the hunger strikers.

● Dellinger related that when a hunger striker sat down on the steps of a nearby building where many people were seated, he was ordered up by a cop: "As long as you're with that bunch over there, you can't sit down."

● Some days before, pickets spotted a man, on his belly beneath a bush in front of the CIA building, taking their photos. They started pointing, laughing and photographing him. Embarrassed, he finally crawled away trailing his cloak and dagger behind.

Philo Heads Opposition Ticket In Local 600

By Tom Kerry

The struggle in the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers union for 30-40—thirty hours work for forty hours pay—goes on! The scene now shifts from the recent Detroit "crash" bargaining convention to the local union elections.

Most important is the election contest scheduled for June 7 and 8 at Ford Local 600, the largest single unit in the UAW and a key section of the union. The incumbent administration of President Carl Stellato, is being vigorously challenged by the "Job Security Slate," headed by Harry Philo.

Opposition candidate Philo worked his way through college and law school and has held many prominent positions in Local 600. He is highly regarded in the local as a militant trade-union fighter and leader. Philo recently terminated his law practice in response to urgent appeals by Local 600 militants to enter the race as a candidate against Stellato.

There has been growing dissatisfaction in the local over the opportunist zig-zags of Carl Stellato. The most recent example was his performance at the Special Collective Bargaining Convention held in Detroit April 27 to 29.

Prior to the convention, the membership of Local 600 overwhelmingly endorsed the call for 30-40 as their number-one demand. Commenting on this action in his column in the April 29 issue of *Ford Facts*, Stellato wrote:

"On Sunday, April 23, 5,000 members of Local 600 attended a meeting in our auditorium. This membership meeting instructed the Local 600 delegates to the Special UAW Convention to support the 30-hour week with 40 hours pay."

The language could hardly be more explicit. The 5,000 members did not suggest, advise or recommend — they "instructed" the delegates to support 30-40. Stellato was one of the 63 delegates representing Local 600 at the crash convention.

As an article in the May 6 issue of *Ford Facts* put it: "All attention was focused on President Carl Stellato when he took the floor

[at the convention] to speak on the position of Local 600."

Stellato spoke. But not as he was instructed by his membership. Instead of expressing his local's support for the 30-40 demand, he practically slobbered all over Reuther whose major effort was directed at sidetracking and burying the 30-40 fight.

Stellato began his oration by announcing that he had been "caught by surprise." He never expected, he said, that Reuther's resolutions committee would come in with a resolution calling for the shorter work week. "Walter's" magnificent convention speeches, he drooled, had convinced him that Reuther this time was really determined to fight for his program.

All the delegates, he said, should leave the convention elated by the feeling of determination that animated Reuther's inspiring display of verbal fireworks. "We're with you on this one," Stellato, the erstwhile oppositionist, assured Reuther. Now, he concluded, all we have to do is go back and convince the rank and file that we mean business.

"That's going to take some doing," whispered an auto worker sitting at the convention press table. "Like Stellato," he added, "we have been listening to Reuther's 'inspiring' speeches at conferences and conventions for many years. It's not that Stellato is being 'taken in,' he explained,



Harry Philo

"rather he has his own axe to grind. Stellato is running scared against Harry Philo in the Local 600 elections and is making a bid for Reuther's support."

The pretense that Stellato was "caught by surprise" by Reuther's nod to the shorter work week demand is pretty flimsy. It was a well-advertised piece of information available even before the convention opened. In addition, Local 600 had two members on the resolutions committee, one a co-chairman of the body.

Furthermore, Stellato had prepared in advance to make his open bid for Reuther's support by publicly declaring in his April 29 *Ford Facts* column that "this administration in Local 600 is in complete accord with President Reuther's proposal for remaining flexible in our approach to contract negotiations."

Reuther's "flexible" approach to contract negotiations is designed to evade any definite commitment to the shorter work week demand. He was very explicit about this in his speeches to the convention. In fact the committee resolution did not commit the Reuther administration to anything other than an obligation to "explore" a whole series of proposals in which the shorter work week was one among many.

The attempt to confuse the "flexible" approach with a genuine expression of determination to fight for the 30-40 demand is obviously intended to befuddle the ranks. The two cannot be reconciled. As one of the delegates put it: If we were serious about the fight for shorter hours we would proceed as we did with the Guaranteed Annual Wage campaign which gained for the union the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit clause.

Lacking any such advance preparation and any real advance campaign, the Reuther program can be put down as mere lip service to the

fight for a shorter work week. The auto workers have had a bellyfull of fine speeches, of leaders who speak out of both sides of their mouths and of leaders whose words are not matched by deeds.

A supporter of the Harry Philo slate in Local 600 was heated in his denunciation of fork-tongued union leaders. "We have repeatedly adopted by unanimous votes of the membership," he said, "the 30-40 demand along with other vital demands to meet the need of the members. Nothing has come of it."

No, he added, with the local union elections coming on, we must concentrate on electing leaders "who say what they mean and mean what they say."

"With proper leadership the men and women in the plants will fight and can win," he added. "We must judge all those who claim leadership or aspire to leadership by the record of what they do — not merely what they say. That," he concluded, "is the real issue in the Local 600 elections."

Lew Griswold

Lewin T. Griswold, a former member of the Socialist Workers Party, died on April 27, in Buffalo. He was 34 years old. A young man of talent and high principle, he was liked and respected by all who were associated with him. His untimely death is a loss to the cause of the working class.

... Castro's Offer to Negotiate Differences With Kennedy

(Continued from Page 1)

the necessities, a genuine intimacy with the people, a constant meeting with the people, meetings like these . . .

"The revolution knows and the people know that the revolution is the expression of its will . . . The revolution did not come to power with Yankee bazookas, nor with Yankee tanks, nor with Yankee recoilless cannon; the revolution came to power with the support of the people, by virtue of the sacrifices the people made, the struggles which the people made, the heroism of the people, struggling precisely against Yankee arms, tanks and cannon. Thus the revolution came to power with the whole support of the people."

"Why does democracy have to be the pedantic and false democracy of the dirty politicians and buyers of votes and not a democracy, instead, directly expressing the will of the people, a democracy which they express a thousand and one times, every day, constantly, sacrificing their lives, not going to an electoral college to check off the name of a dirty politician but going to die as they went to die — the men of the people, the humble men of the people, fighting against the tanks and against the Yankee arms?"

Castro challenged anyone to point to a more democratic government in all the Americas than the Cuban revolutionary government. "Because the revolution . . .

has given to the people something more than a vote for each citizen . . . It has given a gun to each citizen, a cannon, an anti-aircraft gun, a bazooka, a powerful arm to each humble man of the people who has cared to join the militia."

To the argument that the invaders stood for the 1940 constitution which the revolutionary government had allegedly "betrayed," Castro answered with irony. The 1940 constitution was torn to shreds by Batista when he seized power. The American Embassy shared complicity in this along with "the reactionary clergy . . . the ruling economic classes, the monopolistic companies, the rich people of our country . . . a judicial power corrupted to the marrow . . . and innumerable venal politicians." How cynical of "young gentlemen" of this breed, who came "with hundreds of ex-army men who defended that tyranny of Batista . . . criminals, torturers, linked with a mountain of dirty politicians, to tell this people that they came to defend the constitution of 1940."

Constitution not Enforced

Castro listed the basic provisions of the 1940 constitution dealing with land reform and labor, which were never enforced under Batista, and described how they had been carried out under the new government, the only government that respected and carried out what was progressive and revolutionary in this constitution.

Later in his speech, Castro declared: "To those who talk to us about the constitution of '40, we say that it is too antiquated and too old for us, that we have grown out of the 'scanty clothing' of the constitution of 1940, which was good for its epoch but which was not carried out, and which has now been superseded by this revolution, which we have said is a socialist revolution."

"We must speak of a new constitution — yes, of a new constitution — but not a bourgeois constitution, not a constitution corresponding to the rule of a class exploiting other classes, but corresponding to a new social system, without exploitation of man by man. This new social system is called socialism, and this constitution will be, consequently, a socialist constitution."

"If Mr. Kennedy doesn't like socialism, good. We don't like imperialism. We don't like capitalism. We have just as much right to protest the existence of an imperialist and capitalist regime 90 miles off our shores as they have to protest the existence of a socialist regime ninety miles off their shores."

The "essence of our revolution, of our socialist revolution," Castro said, was expressed in the Declaration of Havana (Sept. 2, 1960). He quoted extensively from sections six and seven. (For a copy send 10 cents to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N.Y.)

Castro reported that an analysis had been made of the social composition of 1,000 of the prisoners taken in the Battle of the Ciénaga. Among them 800 were from families that together held 918,533 acres of land under Batista, 9,666 houses, 70 industries, 10 sugar mills, 2 banks and 5 mines. "In addition, more than 200 of these 800 were members of the most exclusive and aristocratic clubs of Havana . . . 135 were members of Batista's army, and the rest, 75, were lumpen or de-classed persons."

As against this, Castro contrasted the class composition of the men, women, youths and even children who defended revolutionary Cuba against the invaders. They were workers and peasants. He described in detail their heroism in battle and the reasons why they displayed such heroism. He listed the great economic and social gains they were defending and the future they sought to secure for generations to come.

In contrast to the joy of the May

Day victory celebration, Castro indicated what would have occurred had imperialism won, citing the slaughters in ancient Rome when slave rebellions were put down and the fearful bloodletting when the Paris Commune was defeated.

Knowing this, the Cuban people, he said, will fight to the death if the American imperialists attempt a direct assault.

But, he insisted, the Cuban people don't want war. They seek peace. And he spoke at length of their desire to avoid further conflict with the U.S., their desire to avoid a situation that could develop into an atomic war. He expressed the complete willingness of the Cuban government to discuss any question with the Kennedy administration except the right of the Cuban people to choose their own form of government and economic and social system.

Committed to Socialism

"We are ready to discuss any of the other questions that do not affect our national sovereignty . . . Things that they wish to discuss of an economic order, of any kind; we are ready to discuss; because we offer this on the altar of peace in the world; we offer this in the interest of our people and of the American people themselves." All the Cuban people want is to be left in peace and to be permitted to develop their revolution as they themselves see fit.

In making this offer of peaceful negotiation of differences, Castro reaffirmed that in no case would they negotiate the future of the revolution. Cuba is firmly committed to socialism and will not turn back.

Weekly Calendar

EAST COAST

Enjoy Memorial Day Weekend, May 27 and 28, at Mountain Spring Camp in the Pocono foothills. Aup. Militant Labor Forum: two special lectures — Julio Medina, org. sec'y 26th July Movement, on Cuban revolutionary history, and D. L. Weiss on Cuba and U.S. foreign policy. Swimming, sports, recreation and sumptuous meals. Special pre-season rates of \$5.00 a day. For reservations phone Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, N. J. Call 689-9852; in New York call AL 5-7852.

PHILADELPHIA

Robert F. Williams Speaks Out on Cuba. Town Hall, Broad and Race streets, Sunday, May 28, 8:30 p.m. Donation \$1. Auspices: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 202 South Canal St., Room 210, WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

CLEVELAND. Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California, Main 3-0983. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, Socialist Workers Party, 1703 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-8338. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, FEderal 2-7781.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.

SEATTLE. 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

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Monday, May 22, 1961

The Wolf Really Isn't That Stupid

By Bob Taber

[This article is translated from the May 5 *Revolución*, newspaper of the July 26 Movement. The author, who founded the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, is at present in Cuba working on a book. Wounded while covering the recent invasion as a reporter, he is convalescing in a Havana hospital.—Ed.]

I have revolutionary friends, politically quite clear-sighted in other respects, who persist in believing that the men in charge of the big North American corporations, the government of the United States, the armed forces and the intelligence services are essentially stupid.

In my opinion this is an error, and a dangerous one, however attractive it may be to those who hold this view, or however natural it may be to reach such a conclusion because of the loss of prestige and even of advantages which the U.S. has suffered in consequence of what appears to be a policy of "miscues."

Often the miscues are not entirely miscues. They are calculated risks. Or they represent compromises with the reality of domestic politics.

I am inclined to recognize, like everyone else, that from the philosophical or moral point of view in general, the North American leaders often appear to suffer from a certain obtuseness. But in practical affairs I believe that it is safer in every way to grant that they know their business.

Let us consider the recent invasion, under preparation by the Pentagon for a long time, generously provided with money and American arms, sent from a base for which the Central Intelligence Agency spent more than a million dollars, supported by American planes from American bases, and even by destroyers from the American fleet.

This invasion was quickly destroyed by an always alert popular militia. The Cuban people became more united than ever, their revolutionary morale rose to an even higher level. Throughout the world, and even in the U.S., a cry of anguished protest went up that still persists and grows.

A resounding defeat for the forces of imperialism? Not exactly.

Object of the Invasion

The primary objective of the invasion appears to have been to secure a beachhead, a bit of counter-revolutionary terrain, in which the counter-revolutionaries could set up a provisional "free" government of Cuba . . . a government which could then ask for — and obtain — direct aid from the U.S.

The invaders were smashed so quickly that this plan could not be put into execution. To have attempted it, with loyal forces falling on the covering invasion force at Girón beach, would have been a joke. The counter-revolutionaries had sufficient to do trying to stay alive, without time to think of other steps.

In this sense, the imperialist plot was a failure.

And the question is: Did the Pentagon really surmise that this was going to happen? Or did those in command merely risk a play on this aspect of the plan while carrying out other limited objectives? I am inclined to accept the latter explanation.

In the first place, the invasion — despite the millions spent in arms, it really cost little — was a valuable military test. It provided the only practical way of determining certain things of great military value.

In what shape were Fidel's regular troops? Their military capacity? Their morale? How rapidly could they be brought into action in a given place? What was the weight, precision and capability

of command of the Cuban artillery? What kind of air force did the revolutionary government have in reserve? And, from the political point of view, how would the people of Cuba respond?

Among other things, this was an opportunity to determine if the counter-revolutionary leaders were merely boasting, or if they were really accurate in proclaiming that they had a vast underground resistance force inside Cuba.

True, it cost something, but the certain fact is that the Pentagon was able to ascertain how efficient were the militia, the revolutionary army and the artillery. It also found out that the Cuban people were solidly united, and that Tony Varona & Co. had been lying like the thieves they are to obtain the North American subsidy.

The Cost of the Failure

This has not been all bad from Washington's point of view. In order to work out plans intelligently, the planners of the invasion, like any other kind of businessmen, technicians or engineers, need solid, positive data. Now they have it. And if the price included the loss of a thousand or so Cubans — Cubans of inferior quality, like the mercenaries — what does that matter to Washington? (It must be noted that no American blood was spilled unless we take into account a few well-paid and well-insured pilots whose loss would not be known except to their families and friends.)

"Well," you might say, "all this is very well, but what about the terrible blow dealt American prestige?"

Undoubtedly this is a serious matter. However, it could be that in Washington this is not taken as seriously as might be expected. In the first place, a big part of the clamor and protest originates in areas to which Washington pays little attention: in the socialist bloc and among sectors of the left in the western or neutral countries. If the Communist party of Outer Mongolia denounces the policy of the United States in a given case, we can be sure that the U.S. Information Service will accept the protest as a formality and that on the following night it will be presented over the microphones of the Voice of America. If the protest comes from the Communist party of Peru, the case is similar.

The government of the United States is decidedly anti-Communist. Its major interest consists in persuading the North American public and its friends abroad that all the criticisms emanate from Communist sources.

Primarily, Washington is interested in domestic political opinion (this is true of any government) and, secondarily, in the friendly opinion of Western diplomacy. The opinion of the neutrals occupies a poor third place. Latin-American opinion occupies the last place; it is scarcely taken into account since the Latin-American governments (a few exceptions are now beginning to appear) are mere puppets.

I am speaking of the political reality, not of what ought to be.

The contradictory declarations that come out of Washington in any crisis can give the impression that everything there is in a mess, and that the heads of the government, caught with their hands in the dough, simply don't know what to say.

Confusion with a Design

Don't be deceived. Much of this apparent mess, this confusion, has a design. It is to muddle the problem and provide time until the powerful and superefficient mechanism of the biggest and most astute propaganda machine of the world — I refer to the so-called "free" press, magazines of mass circulation and radio and television chains — can offer sufficient soothing syrup, distractions and expert pleading, to make the deci-

sion of the top brass (generally presented as an accomplished fact) agreeable to the public they are interested in.

No one could be as stupid as some of Eisenhower's statements made him appear. Eisenhower got to be Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces and later president of the United States. He retired a millionaire. For all this he had to have some intelligence. The same applies to Kennedy. If he says something stupid, he does it with a purpose. The problem is to discover this purpose.

The defeat at Larga and Girón beaches damaged North American prestige somewhat, and I am inclined to believe that in the long run the damage to North American interests will prove much greater than the price Washington wished to pay.

Nevertheless, this is simply an error in Washington's calculations, a too conservative calculation of the revolutionary state of the world at present. It happens that Washington was willing to pay a price. Part of the reason, leaving aside the military experiment, could have been that, in the opinion of the planners of the invasion, even a defeat could serve a political purpose.

In general terms, it can be said that each exchange between the United States and Cuba, whether of blows, words, or economic sanctions, raises the stakes in the conflict, so to speak, and prepares public opinion and Western diplomacy to accept the next and more serious blow.

This was certainly the case when the Cuban sugar quota was cut. They talked so much about it, they raised the threat so often, that when it came it was almost an anticlimax.

The Boy Who Cried, "Wolf!"

The same has occurred with the military aggressions and protests. The wolf ranges the neighborhood and the boy cries for help. But the wolf hides. The following day he comes a little closer. Another cry, "The wolf is here!" And this is repeated. One day the wolf takes a nip. The boy shouts about the aggression but the alarm appears no more real or convincing than the previous ones. As for the wolf, he has been repeating constantly that the boy has been throwing rocks at him and that he deserves a little bite. This is aggression in slow motion, preparing the way for the decisive attack. As I see it, this is what the big interests that rule the U.S., and the government that represents them, have been doing from the beginning, and it is deliberate.

No, I don't believe that the wolf is stupid except in the moral sense.

However, I hope that the wolf gets his deserts and drops or dies from the rabies that is consuming him (for example: galloping capitalism.)

The boy who cried, "Wolf!" was eaten up in the end. But there are other more agreeable fables — let's remember Little Red Riding Hood and the Three Little Pigs — in which the ending was more stimulating. It was the wolf who fell into the boiling pot.

Hope must not be lost. What is important is to face the facts realistically and stay alert.

Venceremos! [We will win!]

The Right To Be Told The Truth

After plumbing new depths of dishonesty during Washington's preparation of the invasion of Cuba, publishers of this country's daily newspapers were subjected to an unfair rebuke by Kennedy for insufficient self-censorship of the true facts of U.S. involvement.

Irrked by such ingratitude, the *New York Times* (May 10) editorialized on "The Right Not to Be Lied To." As in the case of the U-2 flights over the USSR, it points out, statements by government spokesmen on Cuba, quickly and embarrassingly were revealed to be lies. Such lies are not only "unethical," but "foolish," and if administration officials "could not reveal the facts, they would have done better to remain silent."

As Times Washington correspondent James Reston notes in an accompanying column, "The trouble with the press during the Cuban crisis was not that it said too much but that it said too little."

The big-business controlled press of this country is a vast machine for not telling the truth to the people. By omission, commission, distortion and outright lying, it daily tries to sell the people on a system and policies which could not long survive if the people learned the naked truth about them.

The American people deserve to be told the truth. That is what this paper does, to the utmost of its abilities. To help spread this truth we urge you to use the special-offer subscription blank on page four for yourself or for a fellow-worker.

Selective Law Enforcement

Anyone suffering the illusion that U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy did what he could to prevent the outrage in Alabama when the 'Freedom Riders' were savagely beaten should consider a few facts and then ask himself one question.

The facts: "There was plenty of advance notice that trouble might develop in the situation at the bus station," says a Birmingham civic group in a resolution criticizing the local police for not preventing the Ku Klux Klan violence. Reporters — both local and national — knew what was coming. They were waiting to cover the events at the scene for hours before the bus arrived. Every child in Birmingham knows Chief "Bull" O'Connor's police department is in collusion with the white-supremacists. Nor is there any question whatever that federal laws were being violated — unless using sabotage, bombs and beatings to interfere with interstate commerce has suddenly become legal. Moreover, federal laws prohibit forced racial segregation of passengers on interstate carriers.

Now the question: What would federal authorities and Attorney General Robert Kennedy have done if there had been such common foreknowledge that a Birmingham bank was going to be robbed and that the local police were in on it?

The lesson is clear. The big-business agents, who control our federal government, can and will take decisive action when they want to but they can't be counted on when it comes to human rights — especially those of the Negro people in the South.

The courage of the 'Freedom Riders' has caused a part of the truth about Southern racism to be exposed. But if it is left at that, with no further action taken, the racists will feel quite correctly that they have gained a victory.

Thanks for Nothing

The new minimum wage bill, which finally got through both Houses of Congress, is a hoax. It even fails to keep up with the rising cost of living for the workers covered. It doesn't cover the vast majority of those who need it and it actually removes coverage from some workers who had it before.

Once again, yielding to pressure from right-wing Republicans and Southern Democrats, the liberals and Democratic Party leadership left out of extended coverage all major industries where current wages are significantly below the minimum. They systematically included those industries where wages are already above the minimum. As a result, of the 3.6 million who the headlines proclaim are newly covered, only 600,000 will get wage increases. And they won't get \$1.25, but only \$1 an hour. And they won't get that until next September. Nor will they receive overtime pay after 40 hours, nor the full \$1.25 minimum until 1965.

Only 1.9 million of the 24 million workers previously covered will receive wage increases as a result of the new law. They will be raised to \$1.15 an hour and two years later to \$1.25. The millions of underpaid workers in agriculture, hospitals, laundries, cafeterias, hotels, etc., are simply not included. Indeed, "to gain more Southern support," the Democratic party leaders actually removed minimum-wage protection from 25,000 cotton-gin and other Southern workers who were covered under the old law.

As one reporter put it, "We've got the people who make \$26 a day safely covered; it's the people making \$26 a week who are left out."

A new pamphlet
**In Defense of the
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32 pages 25¢

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BOOK REVIEW

A Great Book About Cuba

90 MILES FROM HOME by Warren Miller. Little, Brown, 1961. 279 pages. \$3.75.

If you can't go to Cuba to find out what the Cuban people feel about their revolution, reading Warren Miller's book is the next best thing. Maybe it's a better thing, unless you can speak the language, have the time to travel around the whole country and know how to mix well and draw people out. There have been many good books and articles written about Cuba in the last two years; for this reader, Miller's is the best yet — a work of art as well as a masterful job of reporting.

Miller is the author of three novels, one about Harlem, another a satire on McCarthyism. He first went to Cuba when Batista was in power, a second time just after the revolutionary triumph, a third time in July, 1960. His present book is about his fourth visit, with his wife, in December, 1960, ending just before the U.S. broke diplomatic relations a month later.

The main body of the book is a series of reports on what he and his wife saw and heard in their travels throughout the island. Interspersed are articles reprinted without comment from the Cuban press, including an official announcement about requirements for entering a beauty contest; the texts of an open letter to Castro by the Catholic hierarchy, of a Christmas Eve broadcast from the counter-revolutionary Radio Swan, of a leaflet dropped from a plane over Havana; the translation of 11 revolutionary songs by Carlos Puebla; and several discussions with a cynical (and imaginary) businessman from the U.S.

The main body of the book is even better. Miller did not interview the top officials (not that there is anything wrong in doing that). He spoke, for the most part, with ordinary people in the cities and in the countryside — people of all classes, colors and occupations, for the revolution and against. A partial list:

A restaurant owner, several waiters, a clerk, a seamstress, poets, singers, children in the street, a barber, a cab driver, a bus conductor, a Negro teacher, an oil industry administrator, a grocer, many soldiers in different situations, a mayor, slum dwellers, a military judge, a fugitive ex-governor, traveling salesmen, an elevator operator, people in a park, a formerly rich family, a young priest "out of Balzac," an INRA administrator with a fondness for

statistics, a private in charge of security at a big plant, a troupe of actors and dancers, a beautician, a perfume shop keeper, a pimp, a prostitute, U.S. gangsters, the cultural attaché at the U.S. Embassy.

In a work so rich it's difficult to single out special parts? Following are some that this reader will long remember:

The humble clerk who is about to receive a new home under the urban reform law, his wife who starts to cry whenever the house is mentioned, and his niece who thinks the government is too mild.

The restaurant owner who bitterly regrets having supported Castro at the beginning.

The rebel soldier on the bus who is ashamed of anything less than the best conduct by his countrymen.

The young Negro teacher who wonders if he should continue teaching English.

The grocer who can answer questions "like Fidel."

The discussion in the town hall at Vinales about the rich Batista senator who had owned all the land in the valley and was "not a bad man."

The wife of the minister of transport who does not want her husband's department to go broke.

The shrill reply of the woman who has just moved out of the slums into a new home when she is asked what she thinks about the government.

The old waiter's uncomfortable feeling that he has talked himself out of a tip.

The members of the parasitic family who cannot face the pros-

pect of having to go to work and who do not want their children to grow up "common."

The zealous army private who used to be a captain.

The young Negro woman, manager of a traveling theatrical troupe, who explains why the Communist Party is too cautious, too backward, and has to watch its step.

After leaving Cuba on the last day of the year, Miller went to Miami where he spent a few days talking with Cuban refugees and spokesmen of various counter-revolutionary groups. Some readers may be surprised by Miller's picture of their impotence and the world of fantasy in which they live, but his reports have been confirmed by many of the facts published since the unsuccessful invasion in April.

Miller has that rare gift, a keen sense of humor, but his purpose is altogether serious and his insights are deep. Standing in the street beside two schoolboys, 12 and 14, who have quizzed him, he notes his "impression that every minute of the day and night the revolution was planting itself deeper and deeper into the Cuban earth." The book as a whole shows the depth and scope of the revolution, and, by implication, the stupidity of those who do not realize that the great majority of the Cuban people will defend it to the death.

A book as good as this is also rare, and rarely published. It is worthy of the Cuban revolution and of the rank and file Cuban workers, farmers and intellectuals.

—George Breitman

Bosses Hog Featherbed

The research department of the AFL-CIO's International Union of Electrical Workers has looked into management's charges that featherbedding is making it hard for U.S. companies to compete with foreign products and discovered that it's all too true. For example: International Business Machines has not one president on the payroll, but seven. Burlington Industries has 24 presidents; Firestone Rubber, 12; and Borg-Warner, a total of ten.

Featherbedding vice-presidents come in droves, especially in advertising agencies. For example McCann-Erickson has 122 vice-presidents; Foote, Cone & Belding has 69; Cunningham & Walsh has 50; while the J. Walter Thompson Agency has an even 132. The

Bankers Trust Company of New York has 111 vice-presidents.

Author Cameron Hawley, in a study published in a recent *Reader's Digest* says: "Here in the United States we have the most expensive industrial management on earth." He cites as a typical example two firms, one here and the other in Europe, with about the same production. The U.S. plant has 1,200 hourly workers and 912 on salary. The overseas firm has 1,300 hourly workers but only 221 on salary. The U.S. outfit has 49 "executives" on the payroll, the European, only nine. "They could pay our wage rates," the American firm's president admits, "and we still couldn't compete — our overhead would lick us hands down."

Letters from Our Readers

Hits Charge of 'Racist'

[The writer of the following letter, a prominent civil-rights attorney, was one of the signers of a "Cuba — A Declaration of Conscience by Afro-Americans," which the Fair Play for Cuba Committee placed as an advertisement in the April 22 and 29 *Afro-American* and the April 25 *New York Post*. The full text of the Declaration appeared in *The Militant* of April 24. — Ed.]

New York, N. Y.

The report in *The Militant* [May 8] of Rowland Watts terming the Afro-Americans who signed the Declaration of Conscience on Cuba as racists in reverse is astonishing. Webster's *New Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines racism as "The doctrine that certain races of mankind are naturally superior to others; program of racial discrimination . . . as in Nazi Germany." Evidently, Watts sees us as advocating black supremacy.

After carefully re-reading the Declaration of Conscience I find it impossible to locate any phrase or innuendo claiming innate superiority for Afro-Americans. The burden of the statement is that the Cuban government has effectively eliminated racial discrimination and that we intend to defend the newly emancipated Afro-Cubans as an example of the immediate right of Afro-Americans to full citizenship.

I have counted Rowland Watts as a friend. If, however, our insistence on full legal equality now stamps us as 'racists' then I can only conclude that the Southern white man can never face such a reality.

You are rendering a great public service in carrying the news of this discussion. Perhaps, the widening gulf between the races might be narrowed by further frank, open debate. Any of us are ready to meet Rowland Watts or his nominee on this subject before any audience he may designate.

Conrad Lynn

Birchites a Menace?

Cleveland, Ohio

The eruption of the John Birch Society appears to be a new totalitarian threat.

On ground of being anti-Communist, this social vulgarity might get a lot of followers in this country among undiscerning people. Was not Hitler also an anti-Communist, to the distress of the world?

Thus this John Birch Society

should be recognized as a probable danger and put under the watchful eye of all people.

Joseph Manlet

Time to Act

Jenkins, Minn.

Due to the continued deterioration of our reactionary system of government, it has become all too apparent that either our so-called representatives are not qualified to perform their Constitutional duties to the citizens they are paid to serve or that they are maliciously serving as the executive committee of a group of robbers and racketeers who are operating in obscurity to perpetrate a nuclear war that would destroy our nation.

The foundation of the USA is the immortal Declaration of Independence. The basic rights of man and the duties of their government is clearly outlined in this great document. The time has come for the men who are elected to serve the people to realize they have no right to act as dictators.

The time for action is urgent, as we are fast drifting into a dictatorship of reaction which will completely deprive the citizens of their rights and safety.

R. S.

Doesn't Waste Time

Chicago, Ill.

It fills me with hope to see that people subscribe to *The Militant* after being introduced to it. It's good to know everyone isn't being taken in by capitalism.

I have just gotten out of the hospital here. It made me realize more than ever the immediate need for socialized medicine for all the people. I spent the three weeks propagandizing the other patients about the profit system we live under. The sprinkler of holy water and the servants of the AMA seemed to really fear the patients becoming indoctrinated with working-class realism.

The *Militant's* new face is very good.

M. J. L.

The Key Word

New York, N. Y.

Please allow me to thank you for your courage in daring to express the silent anguish of the muted millions of America, and to offer my profound gratitude for carrying out the unenviable task of preserving the notion that somewhere there is somebody who knows something about that very little but very important word called *truth*.

J. S.

Thought for the Week

"During the last senatorial elections here, [the Philippines] . . . the Nacionalists distributed largess that reportedly ran into millions of pesos. In attempts to win certain critical constituencies, such as Cebu, they flew in crates of currency to local officials for distribution to the voters. Citizens were temporarily put on the public payroll as one method of persuasion, and another traditional Philippine practice is the 'peso sandwich' — two pieces of bread containing a banknote — passed out generously at political picnics. Such customs, which might be considered corrupt in the West, are generally considered normal in the Philippines." — Correspondent Hedley Rhodes in the May 10 *Montreal Star*.

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It Was Reported in the Press

"Freedom Fighters" — During his stay in a Guatemala training camp a member of the Cuban counter-revolutionary invasion force wrote the following in a diary published by UPI: "We've also heard they have eliminated the general staff in Miami and that means the brakes are off shipments of any Cuban who wants to train for battle, despite his political background. Any Cuban who wants to fight communism now has the right to carry a rifle and they're arriving in droves. There will be time to judge the criminals once we get to Cuba."

Camouflage — To improve the U.S. "image" abroad, the Air Force planes which transport junketing government officials have shortened their identification inscriptions from "Military Air Transport Service" to "MATS."

Soft-Shelled Stevedores — London dockers who were forced to strike after employers tried to hire non-union men permitted 30 volunteers to unload a shipment of Portuguese oysters so that the shell fish wouldn't die of thirst.

Racist Resistance — "Developments in the social struggle here in the South increase as we move closer to the heart of segregationist resistance," says Rev. Martin Luther King. "More effective use of the state, county and city policemen and troopers is being used to resist integration. The organization of state and governmental investigating committees is being employed to use smear tactics in defeating the efforts of integration organizations and leaders."

Curb on UN Delegates — Protest has been made against a U.S. regulation restricting two Puerto Rican-born members of Cuba's UN Mission to an area in mid-Manhattan. The two are Dr. Laura Meneses Albizu Campos and Juan Juarbe. Both were given Cuban citizenship and appointed to the UN after being stripped of their U.S. Citizenship for activity on behalf of Puerto Rican independence. The curb on their freedom of movement was protested by attorney Conrad J. Lynn and others. Other members of the Cuban UN Mission are not similarly restricted.

Recruiting Falling Off? — The Central Intelligence Agency is sending talent scouts to high schools to brief graduates on the advantages of a career with the agency.

Twilight — "It is obvious that many of the world's people live in a nutritional twilight zone — food enough to exist on, but far too little to thrive on." — Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

Southern Status — At the UN's Geneva conference on human rights, the commission on marriage laws recommend 15 as the age of consent for marriage. The U.S. delegation held out for 14 in deference to the laws of some Southern states.

Understatement of the Week — "Though the very wealthy are likely to be old, this should not obscure the fact that few old people are wealthy." — The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.

Non-Skid Taxpayer — The Internal Revenue Service approved this income tax business deduction: "Use of yacht to demonstrate to customers value of sneakers with non-skid soles" — \$16,943.00."